

## Message Text

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TRSE-00 SAM-01 SAJ-01 H-03 NSC-10 SS-20 AEC-11 OMB-01

OIC-04 DRC-01 /165 W

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R 011750Z MAR 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0793

INFO SECDEF WASHDC

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USNMR SHAPE

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

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NOFORN

VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

SHAPE FOR INTAF

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GW, UR, US, FR

SUBJECT: CSCE: ASSESSMENT BY GERMAN DEL CHIEF BRUNNER

BEGIN SUMMARY: GERMAN CSCE DEL CHIEF GUIDO BRUNNER PROVIDED EMBOFF'S FEB 28 WITH CURRENT ASSESSMENT OF CSCE. GIVEN SELF-IMPOSED SOVIET DEADLINES AND TIME PRESSURE, BRUNNER THOUGHT CAREFUL PATIENT AND COHESIVE ALLIED POSTURE IN GENEVA SHOULD PRODUCE RELATIVELY SATISFACTORY OUTCOME ON PRINCIPLES, MILITARY SECURITY AND BASKET III ISSUES, WHICH WOULD CORRESPOND BOTH TO INTERNATIONAL LAW AND OBJECTIVE POLITICAL SITUATION IN EUROPE. HE THOUGHT MOSCOW WOULD SHOW SOME FLEXIBILITY ON CBM'S AND BASKET III PREAMBLE, BUT WOULD HOLD OUT UNTIL THE END FOR SOVIET POSITION ON FRONTIER INVIOABILITY, AS WELL AS PRINCIPLES' DECLARATION IN SEPARATE AND EXALTED DOCUMENT; HE SAID BREZHNEV HAD AGAIN PRESSED BAHR HARD ON FRONTIER ISSUE AND ON SLOW PACE OF CONFERENCE. BRUNNER THOUGHT SOVIETS WOULD COME BACK TO EARLIER DEMAND FOR POST-CSCE "CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE" AND WOULD INSIST ON SUMMIT FINALE; HE SAID FRENCH SEEMED TO HAVE DECIDED AGAINST CSCE SUMMIT. END SUMMARY

1. CONFERENCE PACE. CONTRARY TO THE SOVIET DEL POSTURE IN THE INITIAL MONTHS OF THE CSCE COMMITTEE PHASE, AND DESPITE LESSONS LEARNED AT HELSINKI MPT, BRUNNER SAID THE SOVIETS HAVE IN THE LAST WEEK OR TWO BEGUN AGAIN TO PLACE THEMSELVES UNDER TIME PRESSURE AT GENEVA. BESIDES BREZHNEV'S LETTERS TO BRANDT, HEATH, POMPIDOU, LEONE, TRUDEAU, ETC, THE SOVIETS HAVE IN OTHER FORMS--GROMYKO IN PARIS AND BREZHNEV WITH BAHR--BEEN LAYING ON THE PRESSURE FOR AN EARLY SUMMIT FINALE TO THE CSCE. GROMYKO HAD ATTACHED GREAT IMPORTANCE IN PARIS TO A SUMMIT AND BREZHNEV HAD COMPLAINED STRONGLY WITH BAHR OVER DARK FORCES BLOCKING PROGRESS. THE SOVIETS HAD SPOKEN WITH THE FINNS OF JULY 8 AS A TENTATIVE DATE FOR THE SUMMIT FINALE. BRUNNER SAID HE FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND WHY THE SOVIETS WERE IMPOSING TIME DEADLINES THAT COULD ONLY REQUIRE RUSSIAN CONCESSIONS. IN CONVERSATIONS WITH THE SOVIET SECRET

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CSCE DEL, BRUNNER HAD VOICED READINESS TO MOVE FORWARD EXPEDITIOUSLY, AND HAD NOTED USE OF GENERAL (MPT TYPE) REFERENCE TO ENTIRE PRINCIPLES' CATALOGUE FOR PURPOSES OF BASKET III PREAMBLE AS WELL AS DUTCH DRAFT FINAL DOCUMENT. BUT BRUNNER HAD ALSO NOTED THE SOME 160 TEXTS ON THE TABLE AND HAD URGED EARLY DRAFTING. THE SOVIETS HAD SHOWN SOME RESPONSIVENESS AND HAD ABANDONED THEIR TEXT ON ENVIRONMENT FOR THE

GERMAN ONE. FOLLOWING LAST WEEK'S COORDINATING COMMITTEE, WHICH BRUNNER HAD CHAIRED, SOVIET REPS HAD CONGRATULATED HIM FOR HAVING DONE A GOOD JOB AND HAD SAID THEY WOULD REPORT TO MOSCOW THAT "PEOPLE WERE BEGINNING TO SEE THE POINT ABOUT THE NEED TO ACCELERATE THE PACE." NONETHELESS, BREZHNEV HAD AGAIN COMPLAINED TO BAHR THIS WEEK IN MOSCOW.

2. INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS. BRUNNER SAID THE SOVIETS CONTINUED TO INSIST ON A CLEAR CUT PRINCIPLE ON INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS, AND WERE NOW EVEN SPEAKING OF "IMMUTABILITY." BREZHNEV HAD MADE THE POINT AGAIN WITH

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OIC-04 DRC-01 /165 W

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R 011750Z MAR 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0794

INFO SECDEF WASHDC

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AMEMBASSY ROME

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AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

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USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

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"REVANCHIST GAME" WITH PRECISE AND JURIDICAL TEXT ON PRINCIPLES. (BREZHNEV TOLD BAHR FRENCH WERE STALLING IN GENEVA EVEN MORE THAN GERMANS.) BRUNNER SAID THE SOVIETS WILL HAVE TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE WEST CANNOT ACCEPT IMMUTABILITY LANGUAGE, WHICH HAS NO PLACE IN SECRET

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INTERNATIONAL LAW; HE THOUGHT U.S. SUPERPOWER HAD PARTICULAR RESPONSIBILITY AS "GUARDIAN OF INTERNATIONAL LAW." MOREOVER, BRUNNER SAID FRG CANNOT GO BEYOND OVER-ALL LANGUAGE OF MOSCOW TREATY COMPLEX, INCLUDING LETTER ON GERMAN UNITY ACCEPTED BY SOVIETS, AS WELL AS PRINCIPLE OF SELF DETERMINATION AND REFERENCE TO PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES OF U.N. CHARTER. BRUNNER GROUNDED ABOVE POSITION MAINLY ON FUTURE OBJECTIVE OF EUROPEAN UNION AND TERRITORIAL CLAIMS OF OTHER EUROPEAN STATES, AS OPPOSED TO REQUIREMENTS OF FRG, WHICH HE NOTED DID NOT HAVE TERRITORIAL CLAIMS. WHILE SEEKING TO "EUROPEANIZE" CONFERENCE ISSUE PARTICULARLY CRUCIAL FOR GERMANS, BRUNNER DID ACKNOWLEDGE THAT AGREEMENT GOING BEYOND MOSCOW TREATY WORKS WOULD BE POLITICALLY UNACCEPTABLE IN BONN. BRUNNER THOUGHT COMPROMISE ON FRONTIER ISSUE WOULD ONLY BE WORKED OUT "ON THE LAST NIGHT OF THE CONFERENCE."

3. CBM'S. BRUNNER SAID THE SOVIETS APPARENTLY ARE ADAMANTLY OPPOSED TO MOVEMENTS CBM. NOTING NEGATIVE U.S. POSITION ON MOVEMENTS, HE CONFIRMED BONN 3180 REPORT THAT FRG WOULD GO ALONG WITH U.S. ON MOVEMENTS. HE THOUGHT NEUTRALS WOULD BE MORE DIFFICULT AND HOPED WE WOULD LEAVE IT TO THE SOVIETS AND NEUTRALS TO RESOLVE THAT PROBLEM. BESIDES SOVIET REP STASHEVSKI'S COMMENTS TO UK REP (GENEVA 952-PARA 3), BRUNNER SAID ANOTHER SOVIET REP HAD INDICATED PRIVATELY TO GERMAN DEL REP THAT MOSCOW MIGHT BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT COVERAGE OF USSR TERRITORY IN 350-500 KILOMETER WIDE ZONE ALONG THEIR WESTERN BORDER. THIS SOVIET REP HAD ALSO SPOKEN OF 30 DAY PRIOR NOTIFICATION THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS AND NOTIFICATION THRESHOLD AT LEVEL OF PERHAPS 15,000 TROOPS. ON THE OTHER HAND, FOLLOWING THIS AND STASHEVSKI'S CONVERSATION, GROMYKO HAD TAKEN MUCH HARDER LINE IN

PARIS. BRUNNER'S IMPRESSION IS THERE WILL BE SUFFICIENT FLEXIBILITY IN SOVIET POSITION ON CBM ISSUE.

4. BASKET III. BRUNNER THOUGHT SOVIETS WOULD GIVE A LITTLE ON INFORMATION, MARRIAGES, FAMILY REUNIFICATION AND JOURNALISTS, BUT SEEK TO FILTER THEIR CONCESSIONS AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE THROUGH MACHINERY OF STATE.

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HE HOPED WEST COULD CONVINCE RUSSIANS TO ACCEPT MPT TYPE GENERALIZED REFERENCE TO PRINCIPLES CATALOGUE RATHER THAN BASKET III PREAMBLE SINGLING OUT NON-INTERFERENCE PRINCIPLE.

5. FINAL ACT. BRUNNER THOUGHT SOVIETS WOULD PRESS HARD TO ACCORD SEPARATE AND EXALTED POSITION TO PRINCIPLES DECLARATION AND WOULD WISH THAT ONLY THIS DOCUMENT BE SIGNED. HE SAID THIS WAS UNACCEPTABLE, THAT ALL TEXTS MUST BE GIVEN EQUAL TREATMENT AND PUBLISHED IN THEIR ENTIRETY.

6. SUMMIT FINALE. BRUNNER SAID BREZHNEV HAD REITERATED FOR BAHR, AS GROMYKO HAD DONE IN PARIS, THE STRONG SOVIET DESIRE FOR A SUMMIT FINALE. THE FRG POSITION, LIKE THAT OF U.S. AND UK, IS TO WAIT AND SEE WHETHER THE FINAL

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OIC-04 DRC-01 /165 W

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R 011750Z MAR 74  
FM AMEMBASSY BONN  
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INFO SECDEF WASHDC  
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AMEMBASSY OTTAWA  
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CONFERENCE RESULTS WILL JUSTIFY SUMMIT FINALE. HOWEVER, BRUNNER SAID HE UNDERSTOOD FRANCE HAD MADE "FINAL DECISION" AGAINST SUMMIT, AS POMPIDOU DID NOT WISH TO APPEAR IN HELSINKI AS ONE MEMBER OF 33 MAN SUPPORTING CAST TO PRESIDENT NIXON AND BREZHNEV.

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7. FOLLOW-UP. BRUNNER SAID HE THOUGHT THE SOVIETS HAD MERELY SET ASIDE THEIR PROPOSAL FOR A POST-CONFERENCE ORGAN UNTIL A LATER POINT IN THE COMMITTEE STAGE. THE RUMANIANS WERE PEDDLING THE LINE THAT THE SOVIETS WERE CONCERNED OVER WESTERN BASKET III SUCCESSES AND DID NOT WISH TO CARRY ON FOLLOWING CSCE SUMMIT. RUMANIANS SAID THEY, YUGOSLAVIA AND THE OTHER NEUTRALS VERY MUCH A POST-CONFERENCE CONSULTATIVE BODY (WITHOUT SECRETARIAT), PERHAPS AS A PERPETUATION OF THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE, WHICH WOULD MEET INVARIOUS CAPITALS TO REVIEW ISSUES AND PREPARE FOR ANOTHER LATER CONFERENCE. BRUNNER DESCRIBED FRG POSITION ALONG LINES BONN 2380, SAYING GERMANS SEE SOME MERIT IN RUMANIAN TYPE PROPOSAL AND THUS GO SOMEWHAT BEYOND FRENCH, BRITISH AND OVERALL EC-9 POSITION (BONN 2068); HOWEVER, BONN AND ALL EC-9 DELS OPPOSE OBLIGATORY

POLITICAL FOLLOW-ON AND ARE NOT THINKING IN TERMS OF  
PREPARING A SECOND CONFERENCE. MAJOR GERMAN GOAL IS  
SURVEILLANCE ARRANGEMENT TO ASSURE IMPLEMENTATION OF  
BASKET III RESULTS. EXACT TIMING OF PROBATIONARY  
PERIOD AND REVIEW MEETING BY HIGH LEVEL OFFICIALS  
PROBABLY WILL REMAIN OPEN UNTIL END OF COMMITTEE  
PHASE.  
HILLENBRAND

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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** COLLECTIVE SECURITY, SOVEREIGNTY, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, NEGOTIATIONS, SUMMIT MEETINGS, TERRITORIAL CLAIMS, EAST WEST MEETINGS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** golinofr  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
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**TAGS:** PFOR, GE, UR, US, FR, XG, CSCE  
**To:** STATE  
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